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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 8.

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[589] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
595 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát[6] (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.) ha-pisi (w. sp.)
older brother		apisi (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisi (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisi (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisi (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
	dota (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	fuzio ta'yj (m. or w. sp.) tatdiemam (w. sp.)	adák (m. sp.) ta'ai (w. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v) adjem (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v) adjem (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atsets (v) alem (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
mother's mother	atsets (v) alem (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadozo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	eco	tahná	ha-eshó
wife	hatdetsi	adetsi	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adidetsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		eshlá (m. sp.)	ha-eshla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		eshlá	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no [837] marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 584 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent: but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1948, p. 92.

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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of